1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *trutrukull* could be heard. A *trutrukull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

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directly from him or in the adjacent cities, where there are usually shops specializing in native wares.

Although the making of new musical instruments is currently much curtailed, many traditional implements are still used. Commonest of all is the *pifullka*, which ranges from a small hollow tube of cane, bamboo, or reed that is blown like a simple whistle to a rudimentary kind of bitonal Pan pipe fashioned from laurel wood. The latter is the older style and consists of a hollow chamber, divided into two parts by a wooden septum. The newer kinds of *pifullkas* may be blown on any occasion, but the old-fashioned instrument is reserved for ceremonial events. It is blown in conjunction with dancing, its higher note signifying fast time, and the lower one a slower tempo.

Another common wind instrument is the *trutruka* (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), which consists of a section of hollow cane or bamboo, about eight to ten feet long, to one end of which a cow horn is attached. Before it is used it is cleared by dipping water into the cow horn and letting it run out at the opposite end, which serves as the mouthpiece. *Trutrukas* are in evidence on all important occasions, particularly at assemblies such as *hillatuns* and funerals. One specimen, owned by Pedro Llancao, husband of Cautinche's medicine woman, was fashioned from a length of hollow metal pipe affixed to a cow horn. When blown it gave forth a series of notes approximating G, C, G, E, C, two octaves below middle C. All *trutrukas* have only a limited range and are played a few notes at a time with lengthy intervals of rest. The sounds are mournful and not very melodic by our standards.

A third wind instrument is called a *llollkin*. It is much less common than the *trutruka* and is employed primarily at funerals. It is considerably shorter than a *trutruka* and is played by taking in the breath. A *llollkin* is made from about two to three feet of hollow cane or bamboo, attached to a cow horn, and is cleared like a *trutruka*, with water (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). It has a greater melodic range and is pleasing to the Western ear, even

Renaco, but in no one of these places is there a single specialist in woodworking, pottery, basketry, or metallurgy.

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534 though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llellkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *ruñimapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *ruñimapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *ruñimapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[35] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct
512 of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[35] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 72-77. The *llellkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

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PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Cotilo identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alemo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Levin ("Sekura") Painco playing a *kultrún* of his own make at Carrarrile. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

§33 Special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of life and friends, freedom, native, death and bereavement, various festivities, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119-21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122-24; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15-45) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Sonntelle, 1928, pp. 76-77; cf. Félix José, 1910, 1:93, s. v. known) look more European.

§38

§34 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul'trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pilolka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or earthenware trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small part of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Hrdlička, 1909, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:281-82; Félix José, 1910, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 202) —the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

§35 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Reuvoltas (1883, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Maquako* dances (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 220). In some of the modern *Maquako* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45-46), and use of masks (pl. 75, bottom) of wood and of cascle leaves (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:285; 1908, p. 129; Claude Joseph, 1901, pp. 234-36).

§27 §36 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Maquako-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

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war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In divination, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Ramón, 1877–78, 1:333). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:344, 350). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 61; see supra, under Musical Instruments, p. 730) containing three or four carved lizzes (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanoes; Félix

FIGURE 61.—A machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

Juni, 1910, 1:113); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (only recorded ca. 1743 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1937, p. 160).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal witchfit (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

Towards a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mainly

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 266 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 727 534 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 727 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1603 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had [534] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 121 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

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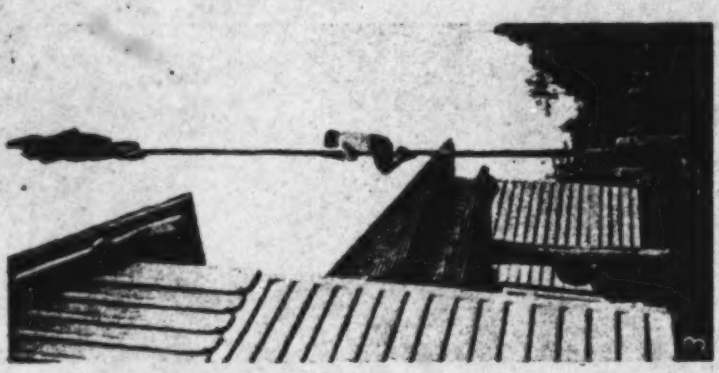

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Araucanian schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a kuykul from the blades of a chupón; boy at left blowing into a completed one. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school fiesta. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) 3, Climbing the school flagpole.

[p. 28(F)]

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curred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an aranko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Aranko live in Panguipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (piku), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willimapu), and west (konüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was pikukürəf; a south wind, waiwenkürəf; but a wind from the east is puelche kürəf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or ngapa kürəf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordilleras); and a wind from the west is l'afken kürəf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepúe area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Coñaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifalka (whistle) (pl. 32, *a-d, f*; pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifalka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the nillatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepúe area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kullkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuykul, when no kullkull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a kuykul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kullkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If 20 boats are out and

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202 only 19 kullkull have been heard, the 19 will then blow in unison hoping that the twentieth will hear them and answer. No boat will sail
●534 far away from sounds of the kullkull; none has been known to have gotten lost because of a fog, but it has happened that one could not hear the kullkull and consequently got away and was taken out to sea by the wind and lost.

No informant had heard of smoke signaling among Chilean Araucanians (it was recorded by one of Cooper's sources, 1946, p. 754), but an old Panguipulli man knew that Argentine Araucanians who were lost climbed to a hilltop—"there are many hilltops there, you know"—and built a fire to attract attention. "Anyone seeing the fire knew a lost person had kindled it, and should be rescued."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, QUANTITY, WEIGHT, DISTANCE

804 Araucanian traditional linear measurements, still in use today, are the pichi duke (the Spanish jeme), the distance between tip of thumb and first finger at farthest stretch; the fücha duke (the Spanish cuarta), the distance between tip of thumb and little finger at farthest stretch; and the wima. If a wima is measured by a man, it will extend from his Adams apple, or the middle of his chest, to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm, or, if he is a large man, only to the tip of the thumb. A woman measures a wima from the shoulder joint of one arm to the tips of the fingers of the other arm.

Both the pichi duke and the fücha duke are used in measuring small things, such as small pieces of lumber or standard widths and lengths of woven articles, such as choapino and lama. One woman demonstrating measuring with the pichi duke slid the tip of her first finger into the position of her thumb, moved the thumb forward to another complete handstretch, and repeated this as often as she needed to. Another woman did the reverse—she slid her thumb into the position of her finger.

Wima are used in measuring lengths, such as those needed in building a ruka or a puma trap, or in measuring land. An occasional woman uses it in measuring choapino. "I know the length of my wima because I measured it against a meter measuring stick that a Chilean had." As many wima as are needed for a length of anything are measured off on a strand of yarn, which then serves as a measuring tape. Although, in general, clothing is fitted to the wearer—a poncho, for example, must reach from side of neck straight across the shoulder and down the arm to the knuckles of the hand and be long enough to touch the knees—the weaver, for convenience sake, may take the measurements on strands of yarn also.

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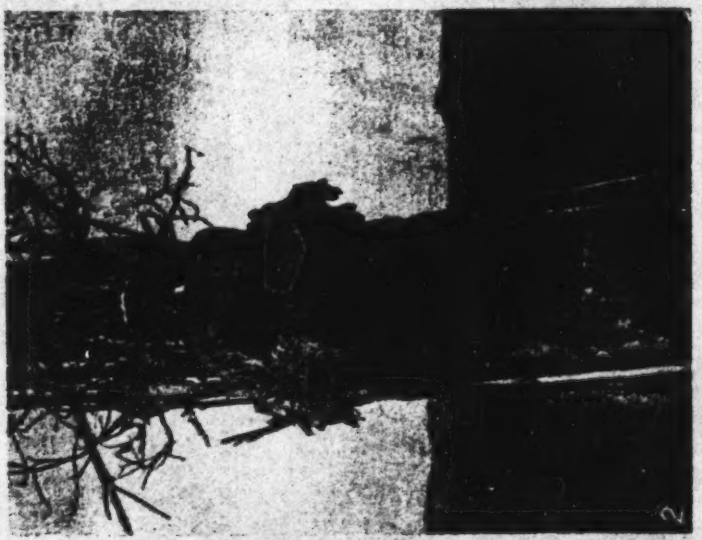

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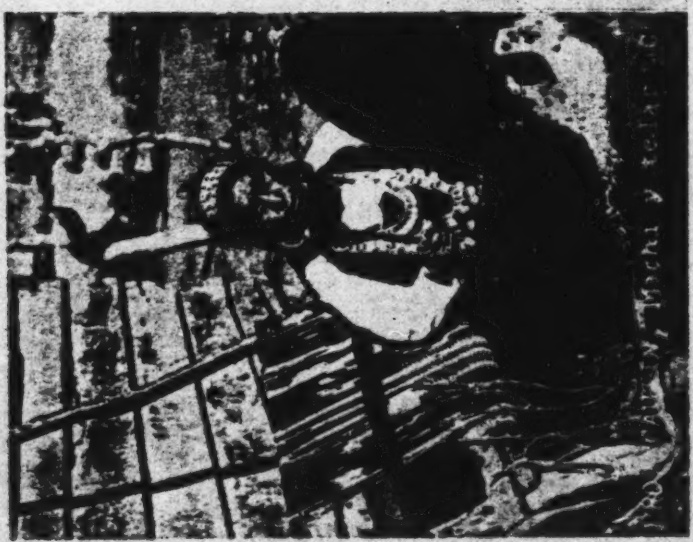

1, The machi, Province of Cautín, beating her kultrun. (Note the loom.) 2, A machi rewe.
(Pictures purchased in Temuco.)

[p. 92(J)]

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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ŋillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ŋillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ŋillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Cofiaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filuponü (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Cofiaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifalka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultruŋ (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kulkull and the kuŋkul (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifalka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifalka, trutruka, and kultruŋ are used at the ŋillatun; the kultruŋ and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

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534 A very old pifəlka owned by an informant (pl. 32, *f*) was of stone (today pifəlka are often made of wood). It was approximately 4 inches long, 2 inches wide, and ⅓ inch thick and had one hole as a ventage. Through a perforation on each side, which the informant called ears, a cord was passed so that the pifəlka could be suspended from the neck. Following the old custom, she noted, the cord should be made of the bark of either pelú, maqui, or totora. The bark is warmed over a fire, rubbed between the palms of the hands until soft, then boiled in water, cooled until lukewarm, and then pulled apart into strands. The following day the strands are rolled between the hands to the length needed by the person who is to use the pifəlka. "It must be long enough to reach around the person's neck and part way down the chest." Today, more often a colored ribbon is used in place of the bark cord. A pifəlka is sounded by holding it with ventage at the top, and blowing across the ventage, as one does in playing a flute.

An informant had made a trutruka by splitting lengthwise a stock of green quila, approximately 8 feet long, removing the pith, then tying two parts back into position with fiocha and pulling over them the dried intestine of a horse. At the farther end he inserted and fastened securely a portion of the horn of an ox. "Without it there is no tone," he remarked. The other end, the one used for blowing, he cut off on a 1¼-inch slant. When not in use, the trutruka is filled with water to keep it from shrinking. Two trutruka, collected in the Province of Cautín (Nos. 115 and 116, Museo Araucano de Temuco), are of split colihüe bound together with vine and then overstripped with animal intestine. Each is an inch in diameter and approximately 9 feet long. A 6-inch section of the horn of an ox is attached at the farther end of each.

No kultrun was seen in the field. Specimen No. 572 in the Museo Araucano de Temuco, collected in Panguipulli and labeled "very old specimen," had been made by stretching the inner lining of a hide over a bowl of wood. It is 5 inches in depth, 13 inches in diameter at the opening and 8½ inches at the bottom. Another specimen (No. 438—according to the curator, a recent collection)—contains some articles which make of it a rattle, also. Its depth is 6 inches, diameter at hide end 18 inches and at the bottom 6 inches. Its 18-inch-long drumstick has one end wrapped about with red, white, and purple yarn.

The wada is a dried, hollowed-out gourd, "big enough to fit into a big hand," into which either seeds of coral or pebbles are put, and the gourd then covered with the inner hide of sheepskin.

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The kunkul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 91-92). Félix José defines the kunkul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kunkul (pl. 12, 1) that what they had made were kunkul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kunkul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kunkul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiocha. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four ventages, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 715 and 739). They are, respectively, 1½ inches long and 2 inches wide, and 2¾ inches long and 2½ inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alepúe man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepúe man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the choike to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and hand-clapping prolonged playing for hours.

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueco, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—choike (rhea) (pl. 17, 3 and 4). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the gime, the corrido, the walse, and the marcha. These are spoken of by Araucanians as dansas; the choike, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the choike for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them.

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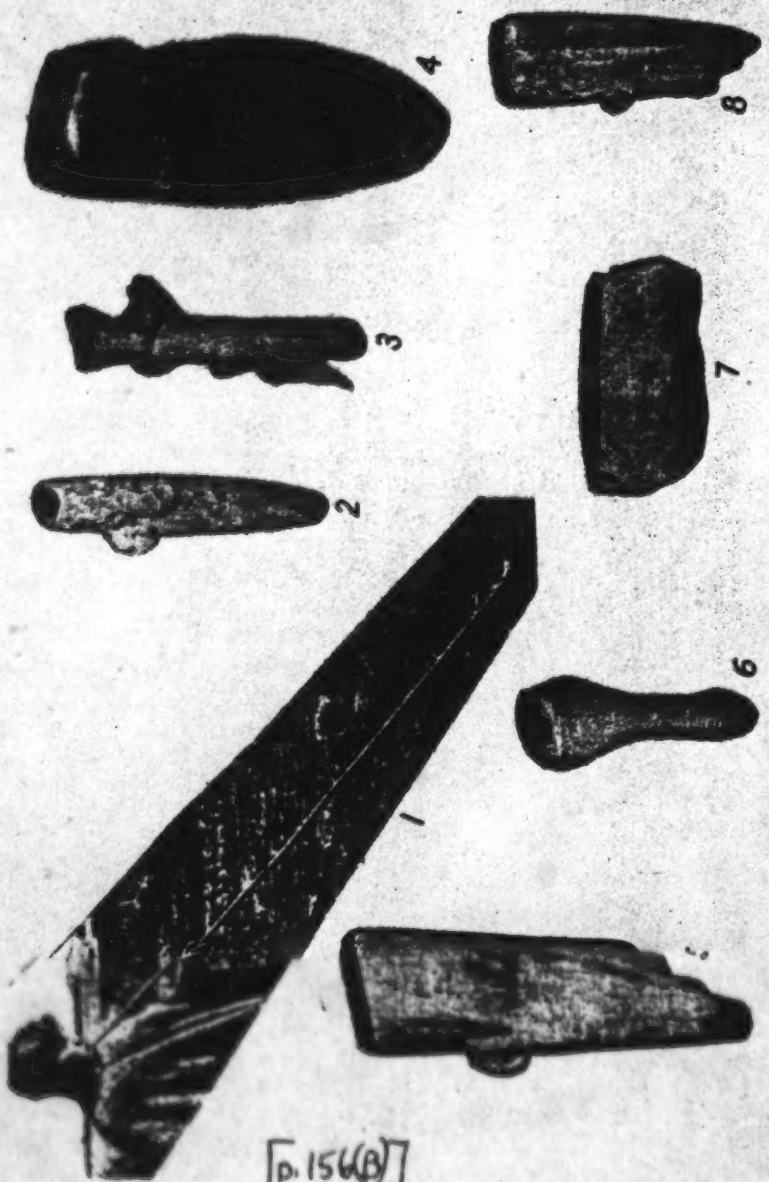

Musical instruments: 1, Trutruka (Province of Cautin). (Picture purchased in Temuco.) 2, 3, 4 (Coñaripe), and 6, Pifalca. 5, 7, 8 Panpipes. (Figures 2-3, 5-8 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Informants, interpreters, and field assistant: 1, Obtaining information regarding the trutruka from Kolupan of Pilpil. To his right, Bertha Ilg-Koessler of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter; to his left, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant. 2, Informant in Quilaquina (left) and Lisa Pfister, of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter.

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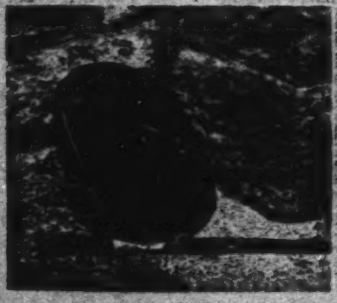

Musical instruments: 1, Kolupan holding a trutruka (Pilpil). 2, An informant demonstrating the use of a trutruka (Trumpul). 3 and 4, A kultrun, a kettledrumlike instrument, and drum stick. (Courtesy Parque Nacional de Lanin).

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

534 Traditional musical instruments were the kultruŋ, the trutruka, the pifəlka, the tupulwe, the picko, the piloilo, and the cheŋkol; the tralatrala has been added to these since the introduction of the horse; and in still more recent years, the jew's-harp and the guitar also.

A kultruŋ is a kettledrum-type instrument (pl. 70, *3, 4*). It is made by stretching a circular piece of well-scraped hide of young horse or female goat over the opening of a wooden bowl—one hollowed out of a tree-trunk section. Sheep hide must not be used since it tears easily. The horsehide of a kultruŋ in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is kept taut by lacings that are passed through holes cut along the edge of the hide. These lacings are about 5 inches from the rim of the bowl. The diameters of the bowl are 12 inches at the opening and 5 inches at the base. The handle is of rawhide of horse, wound about with several layers of green yarn. Its drumstick—only one is used—is a piece of shaved-down wood, 14 inches long and ½ inch in diameter. The 5 inches at the end used in beating the kultruŋ are bare; the remainder wound about alternately, in 3-inch stretches, with blue and white yarn. The poruntun, one of the sacred dances of the ŋillatun, is performed to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. Generally the machi beats the kultruŋ, but the cacique is known to have done so, also.

The trutruka, a wind instrument (pl. 70, *1, 2*), is made by drawing fresh intestine of horse or cow over a colihüe stalk varying in length from 9 to 12 feet. After the intestine is dry, approximately 7 inches of the wide section of the horn of a cow or an ox is inserted at one end of the colihüe to spread the sound, and a mouthpiece of wood at the other end. The loŋkomeo, another dance of the ŋillatun, is performed to the tune of three or four trutruka and the beat of the kultruŋ.

The pifəlka, a whistle (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), is made of an approximately 12-inch-long section of the branch of a tree, preferably the roble chileno, about an inch in diameter. Bark must be removed since it might obstruct the tune. Tones are produced by holding the pifəlka in an upright position and blowing forcefully across a hole bored in the upper end. The piloilo, a panpipe, is made by boring a row of five or six ventages across one end of a small piece of wood, also peeled of bark. A person skilled in its use can produce several whistling sounds by blowing across the ventages. Men use both the pifəlka and piloilo at the ŋillatun.

The tupulwe, a tune-pipe-like instrument, is a hollowed-out colihüe

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pioko, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or coihue, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The chollol, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ŋillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The tralatrala is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The tralatrala is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the tralatrala is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the loŋkomeo and the poruntun. He danced the loŋkomeo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruŋ playing the tune for it," he said. The poruntun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruŋ by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ŋillatun (cf. p. 339).

GAMES

525 A game of chance, known as awár kuden (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and nonparticipating men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

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THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: Marshalling the *Forces of Good*

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It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

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The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by Ngenechen and the machi's familiars (pillan).

The machi must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (thungulmachin) who tells the machi the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the machi is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that machi used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The machi enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (lawen), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (machitun). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. Machi agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (am) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a kalku and turned against the machi, and the machi's loosed soul might be captured by a kalku, whereupon the machi herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of machi are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Checoque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Checoque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Checoque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.